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ABSTRACT

Policy suggestions for achieving the equitable and effective funding of Maryland public schools are offered in this document. The ideas presented draw upon papers presented and discussions held at a statewide conference entitled "Setting the Agenda for Funding Equity." Purposes of the conference were to develop the policy elements of a new formula for funding Maryland public education, strategies to gain the support of the public and policymakers, and a statewide network. The first section identifies the principal issues, such as disparities in per pupil expenditures among school districts, accountability, and state aid. The second section lists several policy considerations, and the third section offers criteria for judging the effectiveness of funding proposals. The fourth section lists 11 contributors who submitted formal proposals and provides information on how to access texts of their papers and workshop recommendations. The fifth section outlines the model funding formula, a new Action Plan for Educational Excellence (APEX) that replaces the 1978 APEX "foundation" funding program. The new formula is based on the assumption that funding linked to performance and innovation leads to educational improvement. (LMI)

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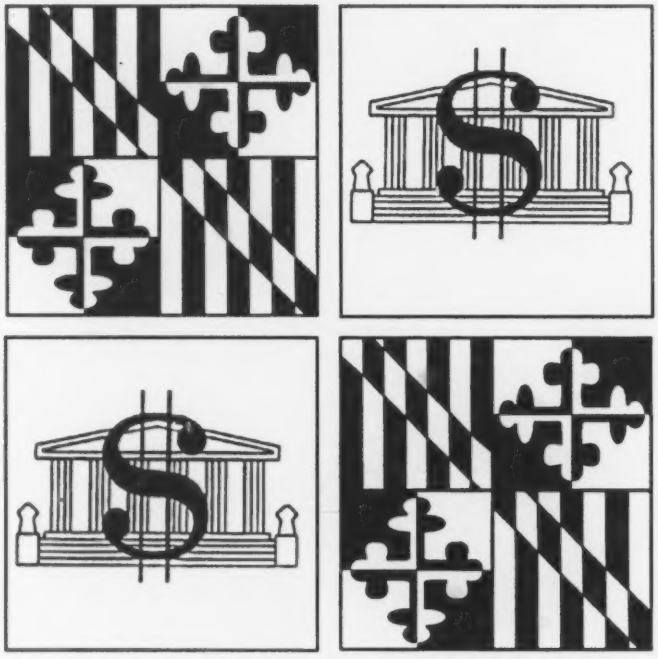
A New APEX for Maryland

A MODEL FUNDING FORMULA

Issues, Policy Considerations and Recommendations on Public School Finance in Maryland



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"Don't just give me problems: give me solutions. And if you say what we will do in education is status quo, then I'll say the money you'll get for education is status quo."
Governor William Donald Schaefer
addressing the conference
"Setting the Agenda for Funding Equity," September 22, 1990

INTRODUCTION

This report is designed to help policy makers consider how to take further steps towards the equitable and effective funding of public primary and secondary schools in Maryland. It provides an analysis of the principle issues, suggests criteria for judging the effectiveness of any proposal, and offers for public discussion and refinement a model formula for school finance.

The ideas presented here draw upon the papers presented and the discussions held at a conference sponsored by "Education Now," a statewide project of the Metropolitan Education Coalition. Titled "Setting the Agenda for Funding Equity," the September 22,1990 conference engaged participants from Western Maryland to the Eastern Shore, from wealthy and poor jurisdictions, urban and rural, to grapple with solutions. Parents, religious and business leaders, elected officials, educators and school board members, and citizen activists heard formal proposals from equally diverse presenters, and deliberated in small groups to seek consensus on criteria and recommended solutions.

The primary purposes of the conference were:

1) To develop policy elements contributing to a new formula for funding of primary and secondary education in Maryland.
2) To develop strategies for gaining support from policy makers and the public for adequate and equitable funding.
3) To develop, strengthen and mobilize a statewide network of people who will actively work in their communities on this issue.

Written proposals for solutions to the education funding problem were widely and publicly solicited. Papers submitted were reviewed prior to conference presentation by a panel composed of:

Delegate William C. Bevan, Howard County
Senator John A. Cade, Anne Arundel Co.
Edwina Green, Maryland Congress of Parents & Teachers
Mary Johnson, Dunbar Alumni Association
Patty Pollard, League of Women Voters
Jill Porter, Maryland State Department of Education
James Spencer, Maryland State Teachers Association

During the conference, workshop discussions and conclusions were summarized by each group's facilitator assisted by workshop volunteers. Ideas and recommendations from the workshops were

combined and explored to find areas of agreement, in an end-of-day "Synthesizing Session" by the facilitators and volunteers from each workshop. This report was reviewed in draft form by the Review Panel, and sent to all conference participants and interested persons for comment. All conference participants were invited to a meeting to discuss a revised draft, and their suggestions were incorporated in this final report.

This report, then, is a product not only of the Metropolitan Education Coalition, but also of the entire process of the conference, with contributions from a variety of individuals. Although no votes were taken on the suggestions offered here, we believe they reflect the views of most of those who have been involved in this conference project.

The Model Funding Formula combines the conference ideas into one possible formulation which attempts to address as fully as possible the conference derived criteria for an ideal solution. The Metropolitan Education Coalition with its statewide membership of citizens and 100 organizations, presents this proposal in the hope that it will focus and stimulate debate and will be helpful in leading toward a solution which can be adopted in Maryland.

ISSUES

A major challenge facing Maryland policymakers in the 1990's is the development of an adequate and equitable system for financing the state's public elementary and secondary schools, and of assuring standards of performance by those schools. In 1988-89, $2,580 per pupil separated the lowest and highest spending districts, or over $77,000 per classroom (of 30). Maryland's record of high average test scores masks wide disparities between districts, with poorer districts often having lower scores. Even in wealthy districts, too many students do not reach their potential. With the educational level of its workforce a key ingredient in the future economic development of the state, more is expected of our public school systems.

Per pupil expenditure disparities are related to:

- wide disparities in per pupil property wealth across districts;
- a heavy reliance on local property taxes to fund public education; and
- an insufficient amount of state education aid to offset wealth-related disparities in education spending.

To a lesser extent, disparities are related to:

- local decisions as to what programs at what funding levels to include in schools
- local variation in cost of education services.

School finance formulas themselves are not the panaceas. Real reform will require the resolution of several issues:

- What are the performance standards which should be expected of schools and how should schools be held accountable to them?
- What are the elements and the costs of a basic quality education necessary to reach the performance standards?
- What is the appropriate state share of education funding?
- What is the degree of equity in educational opportunity for each student that the state wishes to achieve?
- What is the best way to distribute state funding for education to meet those performance and equity goals?

Current Funding Programs

Maryland's constitution says that the state shall establish and provide for "a thorough and efficient

system of free public schools." In 1922, Maryland adopted one of the first programs designed to provide an adequate education throughout the State. The principle was to provide equal dollars per pupil with equal local effort. Today, with 17 programs of aid to local governments for primary and secondary education, the 1922 goal has yet to be met.

FY 1990 STATE AID FOR EDUCATION - PRIMARY AND SECONDARY

PROGRAM	AMOUNT IN $ MILLIONS	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Basic Current Expense - APEX	727.7	44.4
Compensatory Aid	57.7	3.5
Special Education	107.3	6.5
Teacher Retirement	309.5	18.8
Teacher Social Security	119.0	7.2
Transportation	127.4	7.7
School Construction	156.0	9.5
Magnets - Prince George's	11.0	0.7
Other Categorical	28.6	1.7
TOTALS	$1644.2	100.0%

Two of the programs are equalizing (weighted towards the less wealthy jurisdictions). These are: basic current expense aid (now called APEX) and compensatory aid (for children who are economically and environmentally disadvantaged according to federal definitions). Together, these programs account for 48% of State aid for education.

Two programs, teacher retirement and teacher social security, are distributed disproportionately to the school systems that can afford to hire more teachers and pay them better. As 26% of State aid for primary and secondary education, these wealth related programs substantially offset the equalizing programs.

Maryland's aid to public schools is 40% of the total dollars going into education. The local governments contribute 55% and the federal government 5%.

SOURCE OF REVENUE FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	MARYLAND PERCENT	USA AVERAGE
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS	54.9	43.6
STATE GOVERNMENTS	39.8	50.2
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	5.3	6.2

Local subdivisions in Maryland must provide over half the funds needed for education. Yet the ability of local subdivisions to raise money varies widely. The wealthier jurisdictions have a wealth base per pupil (includes income and property) as much as four times larger than the poorer. The tax rates vary also. So, for example, a county with a wealth base per pupil three times larger than its neighbor could raise the same amount with a tax rate three times smaller.

In spite of recent increases in state aid and a policy intention to reduce inequities, there are wide and growing disparities between districts. During the 1988-89 school year, the state average costs per child (excluding school construction) were $5047. While Montgomery County spent $6629 per child, Caroline County spent $4,049, a difference of $2,580 per child, or over $77,000 per class of 30 students. In other words, the highest spending district was able to spend 64% more than the lowest spending district. At the beginning of the decade (FY79-80) that disparity was $1,123 per child.

APEX

Maryland uses a "foundation" funding program, intended to guarantee a set minimum or foundation level of per-pupil expenditures to all school systems through a combination of state aid and local revenue. With the enactment of APEX (Action Plan for Educational Excellence) in 1987, Governor Schaefer and the General Assembly agreed that Maryland must assure that the state and local jurisdictions would share in a foundation program for each school child equal to 75% of the statewide average costs. The local jurisdictions combined contribute almost half of the total, and each jurisdiction's share is based on the property and income wealth per pupil.

This foundation program formula covers only basic current expenses (about 44% of State aid for primary-secondary education in FY 1990). Increases in the basic foundation program after FY 1992 are to be based on 75% of the two-year average of actual per pupil expenses for the third and fourth previous years. So, in FY 1993, the average of expenses statewide in FY 1989 and FY 1990 ($3964) would be used to determine the 75% foundation amount ($2973).

The APEX legislation was to also provide a phase-in towards the 75% target, so that meeting the

goals would not place a great burden in any one year. Dollar amounts were estimated and put into the law through FY 1992 to meet the phase-in targets. Even with substantial state aid increases, these actual dollar amounts have fallen short of the percentage target by a great deal, because local appropriations are higher than predicted as are student enrollments. Therefore, the statewide average expenses are higher, and the estimated amounts are further from the planned targets each year. It is estimated that the dollar amount to meet this commitment to APEX may be an additional $180 - 200 million over the FY 1992 appropriation.

Thus, the APEX plan for reducing funding disparities covers less than half of state aid for primary-secondary education, only attempts to bring poorer subdivisions up to 75% of the average statewide, and uses a goal that is always three to four years out of date.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The question of public school finance contains within it a number of policy considerations:

- What does it mean for the state to provide a "thorough and efficient" education?
- What is an adequate level of funding to guarantee a quality education to every student? Shall it include total expenditures or only the components of a basic education?
- What are the components of a quality education and how much should they cost?
- To what extent should there be equality of educational opportunity for all children regardless of their jurisdiction's wealth per pupil?
- Should a foundation level be based on actual costs? for the highest spending jurisdiction? an average of all jurisdictions? for the current year?
- How can a foundation program be constructed that will adjust to changing needs from year to year?
- What weights, if any, are needed to account for variations in costs (pupil characteristics, cost of living, etc.)?
- Should some funds be categorical and/or targeted to specific needs?
- What additional resources should be targeted to educate disadvantaged and/or handicapped children?
- How should the local contribution be determined? What should be the measure of local wealth?
- To what extent should there be taxpayer equity (same amount of total revenues for equal local tax rates)?
- Should local leeway be encouraged? How much?
- How much local choice and control should there be for educational policies?
- What accountability should be required for maintenance of effort, efficient and effective use of funds, and financial reporting?
- What accountability should be required to show that funds are spent effectively to improve performance?
- What are fair and objective measures of educational performance?
- Should local effort be measured the same when jurisdictions have different demands on their local resources?
- What transition phase-in should there be to a new plan?
- Should a new plan ensure that no jurisdiction receives less than in a prior year?

CRITERIA

Conference participants were randomly assigned to five work groups, so that each group represented the diversity of the conference as a whole. In the morning, the groups were asked to develop criteria for assessing any proposal, drawing upon the "Policy Considerations" listed earlier and their own ideas. A challenging first priority criterion emerged from all groups:

Performance and Accountability: Proposals for funding equity must provide for funding based on performance. With a common set of statewide standards for the outcomes we want for excellence in education, and with adequate funds for the programs necessary to achieve these outcomes, we should then hold ourselves, our schools and our school systems accountable.

Other criteria developed by the groups were:

Adequacy: Proposals should provide a funding level sufficient to cover the cost of educating the disadvantaged and handicapped, and sufficient to provide those programs necessary to assure for every student the opportunity to reach his or her potential, and for every school to reach state performance standards.

Student Equity: An equitable solution is one which uses a formula weighted by the diverse needs of students, variation in the cost of living, and thus variation in costs to achieve success. Equity does not mean equal dollars; it means equal opportunity to meet standards in each district, and recognizes that some districts and some children will need more funding per pupil.

Local Choice and Innovation: Proposals must support local decision making on how best to achieve the state goals based on local needs and must allow additional local funding. Proposals should foster innovation among school systems in providing special programs.

Taxpayer Equity: Proposals must take into account the varying fiscal capacities of the localities. The formula should be weighted by local ability to pay, require local maintenance of effort, and reduce reliance on the property tax. The determination of ability to pay should include a more realistic assessment of local wealth, and consider total local effort on the varying demands for public services.

Hold Harmless: No subdivisions should receive less state funding under a new plan than under the current plan.

Political Viability: Key to political viability is the understanding that adequate and equitable education funding is necessary to meet performance standards, that meeting performance standards is necessary for the economic health of the state, and that there will be accountability for results.

Self-Correcting: Proposed formulas should be self-correcting over changing conditions and over time, so that the solution is long lasting. Evaluation should be built-in to assure the solution achieves its goals.

OPTIONS - FORMAL PROPOSALS AND WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS

Eleven written proposals were submitted for and discussed at the conference, from:

Henry Bogdan, Mayor's Task Force for Liaison with the General Assembly, Baltimore City
Jane Stern, Maryland State Teachers Association
William Cotten, Eastern Shore of Maryland Educational Consortium
Montgomery County Government
Patsy Baker-Blackshear
Gita Lefstein, parent and teacher
William Ecker, Superintendent of Schools, Caroline County
Charles Cooper, Maryland Conference of Social Concern
Edwin Richards, Caroline County Administrator
John Henry, Talbot County Taxpayer's Association
Carl Schramm, Baltimore City Taxpayers Coalition.

These papers contained a wealth of ideas and supporting information - much more than can be adequately summarized here. Full texts of the papers are available from the Metropolitan Education Coalition.

The same five work groups which met to develop criteria in the morning, met again in the afternoon after hearing formal presentations of the proposals. The work groups brought forward recommendations of options they believed warrant serious consideration. Reflecting the diversity of conference participants, these ideas represent alternative approaches from which solutions might be selected. A full list of workshop ideas is available from the Metropolitan Education Coalition.

The Model Funding Formula, described below, draws upon these papers, workshop ideas, and the many written and verbal suggestions offered from across the state to draft versions of this proposal.

MODEL FUNDING FORMULA

Maryland boldly names its basic school funding formula the "Action Plan for Educational Excellence." Without standards for excellence, models for success, or meaningful methods for performance accountability, it tried to use the one tool available to achieve excellence: increased dollars.

APEX has increased funding for education, and slowed the growing disparities of education funding levels between wealthier and poorer jurisdictions. Yet in the three years since that first bold step of APEX, we have not seen the needed improvements (in test scores, attendance rates, drop-out rates, etc.) we expect for excellence. Nor have we seen the available dollars going to any significantly greater extent to where they are most needed and where they can do the most good: to the disadvantaged, to the handicapped, to the programs that work for all students.

New tools for excellence have been put forward in Maryland in these last three years:

- **A Performance System With Standards And Accountability**. Recommended by the Governor's Commission on School Performance (Sondheim Commission), it is now being refined and implemented by the Maryland State Department of Education.
- **A Set Of Model Programs That Succeed**. The Commission for Students at Risk (Blount Commission) issued "Maryland's Challenge" for programs known to succeed with disadvantaged students. State Schools Superintendent Joseph Shilling issued "A Vision for Public Education in Maryland" with state strategies for achieving goals for public education.
- **A Sharper Definition Of Statewide Equity**. The Governor's Commission on State Taxes and Tax Structure (Linowes Commission) is issuing its recommendations to "ensure that all jurisdictions have an ability to achieve and maintain excellence." This education summit conference, "Setting the Agenda for Funding Equity," and this report re-define equity and offer solutions to achieve it.

It is time to put these three components together in a new action plan for educational excellence.

A New APEX

A New APEX for Maryland public education recognizes that money, by itself, does not make a difference. Money tied to performance and innovation to improve performance, does make a difference.

A New APEX for Maryland recognizes that equal dollars do not assure equal opportunity, but a system which yields fewer dollars to areas of special need surely places an impediment in the path to

excellence.

A New APEX recognizes that Maryland has programs which succeed with "at risk" students and which demonstrate that every student can succeed in school, and can achieve the skills needed for tomorrow's workforce, and that the extra dollars these programs take is an investment in Maryland's future worth making.

Adequate Funding

An adequate funding level is one sufficient to assure for every student the opportunity to reach his or her potential, and for every school to reach state performance standards. That level is not the per-pupil spending of the wealthiest or of the average district. Nor is it a historical percentage of the state's revenues, or an amount based on comparison to other states. All of these are useful benchmarks to compare how we are doing, but are not an answer to the value question of how much should we spend on education.

Performance-based funding asks, how much does it cost to reach the goal? The State Board of Education or a separate special purpose commission should define the costs of a basic quality education which achieves state performance standards. Elements such as the following could be used in determining the costs of a basic quality education:

- the average cost per pupil of those districts which meet or exceed state standards
- the average costs per pupil of those schools which meet or exceed state standards
- a state recommended minimum salary schedule
- a state recommended minimum instructional staff/pupil ratio
- costs of specialized programs which succeed in meeting specialized educational needs

Once established, the cost figure should be subject to an automatic annual increase factor, and State Board or separate commission review every fifth year.

Pending such a definition of costs, currently available cost figures for reform proposals and successful programs can be used to develop an approximate estimate of the current costs of a quality education. The base level for all students has been set forth by the State Board of Education plan for achieving state goals. While discussion continues around particular elements of the plan, overall it can be used as a framework for estimating the costs of excellence. For "at risk" students, programs which have demonstrated success in Maryland can be used. One comprehensive model is "Success for All" of the Johns Hopkins Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools. Other programs may be more

suitable for different situations, but detailed cost records for this program give us one useful benchmark. For special education students costs have been well defined over the years, based on the levels of disability. The actual cost experience of one large district is used here, and this could be refined by cross district comparisons.

Combining these proven and promising programs, and applying the cost figures to the applicable state-wide student population, yields an estimate of the needed increase in education funding of $821.6 million in current year dollars:

Base Level for all	$601.2
Disadvantaged, at Risk	$101.7
Special Education	$118.7
TOTAL above current	$821.6 million

Revenue Sources

This proposed education investment in Maryland's future will require new revenue. The revenue source should reduce reliance on the local property tax, more accurately reflect ability to pay, be dependable over the long term, and raise the increased amount needed to reach state education goals. As this is written, the Maryland Commission on State Taxes and Tax Structure (Linowes Commission) is preparing its recommendations for "legislative approaches that will facilitate the implementation of an equitable Statewide system of taxation and of funding allocation." The Commission's three-year study effort and report should be used to identify a revenue source meeting the above criteria, to be designated for the New APEX.

Distribution of Aid

Once the costs of a basic quality education are defined, Maryland need no longer rely on a "foundation level" of funding based on a percentage of an average of a four year old number. Instead, a New APEX guarantees each jurisdiction an "adequacy floor" which is 100% of the current costs of a basic quality education.

A New APEX funding formula assures each jurisdiction, as a minimum, a per-pupil dollar amount from combined state, federal and local sources, sufficient to provide a basic quality education and to achieve state performance standards. It assures equity of opportunity for each public school child in Maryland to achieve educational success. The New APEX would replace and combine several existing

state aid programs with a five-part formula. A multi-part formula is used, since to achieve the goals through the "basic current expense" formula alone would be prohibitively expensive. (Note: FY 1989 cost figures are used as the most recently available data.)

1) Basic Current Expense: Revise current APEX target to 75% of average of second and third (not third and fourth) prior years, adjusted by the 12-month inflation figure reported for July of the first prior year. By this method, budgeting would be based on the most recently available actual expenses and projected up-to-date, rather than four year old data.

Additional FY89 Cost: $322.1 million

2) Compensatory Aid: Adjust pupil counts by the weighted count of disadvantaged students (under Federal Chapter 1 guidelines). That is, if successful programs for at risk, disadvantaged students cost 30% more than for other students, each disadvantaged student would count as 1.3 students.

Additional FY89 Cost: $101.7 million

3) Special Education Aid: Adjust pupil counts by the weighted count of special education students at each level of service. That is, if successful programs for level three special education students costs 60% more that for other students, each level three special education student should count as 1.6 students. Safeguards would need to be in place to prevent mis-labeling students to gain dollars, and to assure that the dollars are spent for the intended students.

Additional FY89 Cost: $118.7 million

4) Targeted Aid: After calculating elements one through three, add supplemental aid to bring all jurisdictions up to the "adequacy floor" amount, which is defined as 100% of the per pupil cost of a basic quality education, or the per pupil spending amount of the median spending jurisdiction, whichever is higher. The median (middle county) is used rather that the average, since the average is skewed by unusually high or unusually low spending jurisdictions. For each jurisdiction below the per-pupil amount of the "adequacy floor," add an amount per pupil equal to the difference from the "adequacy floor."

Added FY89 Cost: $68.7 million (using median)

5) Cost of Education: A cost-of-education index should be developed and validated, with an index number of 1.0 being the average, to show the variation between districts in the costs of providing the same education services. For each district with an index greater than 1.0 (higher than average costs), the state aid dollars calculated in elements one through four above would be multiplied

by the cost of education index to yield the total New Apex state aid for that district.

Added FY89 Cost: $17.4 million

TOTAL COST OF NEW APEX: $628.6 million, or about $900 per pupil.

Social Security, Retirement

If other aid is more equalized, this category becomes less dis-equalizing. The remaining disequalizing effect should be offset without undue burden to any district. This should be done by updating the state recommended minimum salary schedule and state recommended instructional staff/pupil ratio. The state would continue to pay the full cost of social security (capped at 6.13%) and retirement up to these state minimums. Local jurisdictions paying higher salaries or having more staff would share the costs above the minimums in the same proportion as in their New APEX formula. The state salary minimums should be subject to an annual increase factor in order to minimize the need to constantly revisit the law. The state salary/staffing minimums should be reviewed and updated every fifth year by the State Board or separate commission established for this purpose.

Added FY89 Cost: $ NONE (Reduced cost to state, increased costs to some counties)

Other Categorical Aid

The conference did not specifically address other categorical aid (construction, transportation, etc.). There are problems with some of these which warrant further study and action.

Transition Aid

It is intended that all jurisdictions will receive more under this plan than under current programs. However, if a jurisdiction gets less than the prior year (adjusted for inflation and student counts under current methods), it would get transition aid in the first year of the new plan equal to the difference. This transition aid would be reduced 25% per year until it is phased out in the fifth year.

Phase In

A sudden large increase in funding can be as difficult to manage as a decrease. Therefore, no jurisdiction should receive an increase per pupil of over 20% (above inflation) in any one year. The remaining portion of the scheduled increase would be provided in the subsequent year(s).

Performance and Accountability

Under the New APEX, increased aid is tied to performance and innovation. Before being eligible to receive the increased aid anticipated under this formula as compared to current state aid programs, the school district must develop and have approved by MSDE a school-by-school and a school system improvement plan to meet MSDE Excellent performance standards. Each jurisdiction should receive only that portion of the scheduled increase which can be justified by their performance improvement plan. After three years, and each year thereafter, school and school system improvement over its baseline (starting) performance levels will be measured. Each school and school system must meet a threshold level of improvement toward the excellent standard.

Adequately funded incentives and rewards must be provided to foster innovation and risk-taking to seek improvement. The MSDE proposed "challenge grants," "promising practices fund" and "schools of the future," with categorical funding outside the basic formula, are some of the incentives and rewards which should be developed. MSDE should also make available technical assistance when requested to assist local school systems in developing and implementing performance improvement plans.

Meaningful sanctions are also essential to a performance-based system. Sanctions being developed by MSDE, if they are strong, effective and equitable, should be applied to those schools and school systems which fail to make a threshold level of improvement above their baseline performance figures. (For a definition of a threshold improvement level system, and additional options for rewards and sanctions, see the Kentucky school finance restructuring plan.)

Maintenance of Effort

Current requirements for maintenance of effort (of local dollars going to education) should be retained.

CONCLUSION

A New APEX for Maryland:

- Demands performance and accountability
- Assures an adequacy floor of 100% of the cost of a quality education
- Provides every child in Maryland with an equal opportunity for educational success
- Supports local decision making and innovation
- Weights a larger portion of state aid by local ability to pay and requires local maintenance of effort
- Preserves current funding so that no jurisdiction receives less under the new formula
- Adapts to changing conditions over time.

At $900 additional per pupil (average statewide), this model funding formula is both modest and challenging.

It is modest in that even this arguably does not meet some estimates of the funding level needed for the best possible education.

It is challenging to school systems which must justify additional funds by additional performance, and must make themselves accountable for results.

It is challenging to communities which must become involved in defining and carrying out the programs needed for excellence in their schools, for the schools can not do it alone.

It is challenging to political leaders who must, in hard economic times, have the vision necessary to invest in Maryland's future.

This is the challenge of a New APEX for Maryland.

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The Metropolitan Education Coalition is a broad alliance of persons and organizations supporting a common mission to educate, organize, and encourage action for improvement in the quality of education throughout the metropolitan region.

Individual membership $15, Organization membership $40

November 16, 1990